

LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. 1423
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

Is the U. S. Immigration Law Beneficial?

A Debate
Clarence Darrow
vs.
Lothrop Stoddard



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RESOLVED: THAT THE IMMIGRATION LAW
DISCRIMINATING IN FAVOR OF THE RACES OF
NORTHERN EUROPE AS OPPOSED TO THOSE OF
SOUTHERN EUROPE IS AN ADVANTAGE TO THE
UNITED STATES.

AFFIRMATIVE: *Dr. Lothrop Stoddard*

NEGATIVE: *Mr. Clarence Darrow*

IS THE U. S. IMMIGRATION LAW BENEFICIAL?

A DEBATE

DR. STODDARD'S FIRST SPEECH

(For the Affirmative)

A debate, as I conceive it, should be neither an assembly of oratorical fireworks nor a bit of forensic fencing, however clever. A debate, to serve a useful purpose, should be intellectually worth while, and the only way, as I conceive it, to make it a worthwhile performance is to define the issue clearly and then stick closely to the task and not ramble off into more enticing fields.

As the opener of the discussion, it behooves me to state what the debate is and what it is not about. In the first place, as I conceive it from the wording of the question, this debate deals with immigration as it concerns the United States. Our debate here tonight deals with the interest of the people of the United States as a whole in the question. It does not concern the interest of other people, of the people living outside the United States. We merely reflect public opinion as it has been formed here in the United States.

In the second place, I think we should spend a moment or two to consider the meaning of

the United States. I intend in my side of the debate to use it as it always has been used and is used by the vast majority of the people here—as a nation. I do not intend to discuss silly international or cosmopolitan theories which hold that the United States belongs to all the world, and that they all have a prescriptive right to come here and settle as they please.

There is another point which by mutual consent has been ruled out of the discussion as not merely a controversial topic but a topic that would lead us far afield and into technicalities and that is the question of the so-called biological superiority or inferiority of certain of the European racial stocks.

In the fourth place, I shall not include in my argument any discussion of the principle of numerical limitation of immigration. Both Mr. Darrow and myself will keep away from the issue of absolute numbers. There should be some numerical limit, however the various racial quotas are to be laid down as a matter of public law in this country. Most thinking people in this country believe that to open our gates wide to immigration would be to destroy our precious prosperity, to depress our wage standard, to upset our whole economic life, not to speak of our political and national life, and no one appreciates those things better than labor. You know the decisive step taken by the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans recently when they came out for restriction of immigration because it is labor which has the most to gain from keeping stand-

ards high by allowing only a few wage-earners to enter this country. They know what happened in past years, before the immigration law of 1924, when from one million to one million and a half people came into this country in one year, putting our whole industrial system upon a hire and fire basis.

Having made those attempts to limit this subject, I believe we are now in a position to discuss the specific issue before us—Is our present policy of discrimination of best service to the United States?

I want to say right here that I shall not invoke any legalistic quibbling about that word discriminating. The whole driving force back of the act of 1924 was to promote immigration from northern and western Europe and to restrict it from eastern and southern Europe. What was that driving force? It was the slowly formed but culminating and very decisive resolve of a vast majority of the old American stock to exclude immigration from southern and eastern European stock. What was back of this decision? It may be summed up in one very short but very pithy word—self-preservation, the first law of nature. And yet this matter of discrimination needs analysis. It is by no means a matter of race feeling. The northern European aliens in this country had nearly half a century of very wide and increasingly acute experience with the immigration which was pouring in in ever increasing numbers from the southern and eastern sections of Europe. This situation became more and more evident and more and more disturb-

ing until finally it crystallized public opinion and put over the law.

First let us look at the economic factors of this situation, for that was really the first and foremost factor. Comparatively few of the people who supported the immigration law of 1924 were actuated solely by race feeling. This question was touching their pocketbooks, their wages. It was touching them economically in numerous ways. The great majority of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were from the poorest classes of a poor and backward race. They came to this country with low living standards, and they came with strange business and social customs which produced a very serious and a very aggravating and annoying disturbance in the economic life of the country.

The second group of factors we may sum up in the one word *social*. To mention a few of them will give you a pretty good idea of what I mean. These people from southern and eastern Europe had different habits, manners, customs, attitudes, and domestic relations between themselves and their neighbors and their community as a whole—a whole series of difficulties which inevitably made trouble both among themselves and between them and the Nordic element in the population.

The third element is the political, and here again you encounter profound difficulties. These southern and eastern immigrants have different traditions. They do not accept democratic self-government and trial by jury. Take the average Sicilian immigrant. He comes

from a section where democratic self-government is practically unknown. The average Sicilian differs with us in his attitude toward courts and the law. If he is injured by an enemy, he will on no account confide in the policeman or the judge. He leaves it to some friend to avenge him. He does not trust the law, and there is a good reason for it. Italy has never had good laws; their justice is not always just. What can you expect, other than distrust, from an atmosphere like that? You may be sure that a man coming from a country like that, where heroes are brigands who rob the rich and give to the poor, would not fit into our communities. Their heroes cannot compare with George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

Why do the immigrants from southern Europe have a decided aversion to our principle of majority rule? Because they have never known anything else but despotism—oppressive despotism. They have never been a real nationality. All the nationalities they have known were oppressive. Why should they have any concept of government and nationality in our sense? But this lack makes a great difference when they come to us in millions. Although our institutions are not perfect, they are the natural outcome of the people who have settled this country. Their descendants do not want them changed.

And then we come, of course, to the racial factor, but not in the sense of judging between one nation and another upon such an abstract single standard. There are such things as

racial differences which reveal themselves constantly in everyday life. These traits stubbornly persist, and they are overawed very slowly.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, you have briefly a statement of the main reasons which caused the northern European to decide to exclude immigration from southern Europe, or at least keep it down to very narrow limits.

I must not dodge the unfortunate results of this immigration law. I will freely admit that some of the results have been unfortunate. It has undoubtedly caused a great deal of ill-feeling. It has hurt the feelings of the southern Europeans in this country. But why look exclusively at that side of the picture? What about the feelings of the older stocks? Consider the vast majority of the nation. These southern people number fourteen or fifteen per cent of our population. How about the feelings of the great majority, who have been thoroughly aroused, thoroughly alarmed, and thoroughly determined that something must be done to preserve their country as I have stated? If their feelings are disregarded, will there not be a great amount of feeling and unrest produced? And from the standpoint of the southern European, will it not be to their best interests to avoid the ill will and the bitter feeling of the majority? The only way out is to adhere to the National Origins Plan, a plan which will give proper importance to all the immigrants in this country at the present time, and to their descendants. It provides a larger proportion for the races of southern Europe

than does the census of 1890. It tries to maintain the proportion of our population as it now exists. And only by basing our immigration laws upon such a basis will our common good be assured.

MR. DARROW'S FIRST SPEECH

(For the Negative)

I am glad my friend wants to meet this question squarely. Facing things squarely is what I believe in doing and he does also.

The law as it stands today, passed in 1924, provides that 150,000 immigrants may come to the United States annually, and that the number should be fixed for each country according to the number of citizens of that country who had emigrated to the United States, but that it should be the number of citizens who had emigrated previous to 1890—thirty-five years before the law was passed. Instead of using 1924 as the basis of immigration quotas, they dated it back thirty-five years. Why? So they could get Nordics from England and Scotland, and Norway, and Sweden, and exclude the people from Italy, France, and the Balkan states, and Russian Jews.

The problem is clear. Our friend does not dodge it. To him and to some other people here who claim to be old stock, the northern European Nordics are the salt of the earth. I am a foreigner; my people didn't get here until about 1710. They got here, and now I

am asked to close the doors to the people who come over on a later ship. I am not for it for several reasons.

Our friend talks about the right of countries to do things. Countries have rights only when they have power to enforce them. I don't agree with him because I have imagination; that is all. I can imagine myself being an Italian and wanting a better chance, or being a Russian Jew and wanting a better chance, or being an Austrian and wanting a better chance. It is hard for me to forget that there are other people on earth besides the stock I came from.

He speaks of the people in the United States now as if they owned this country. Why, the first of them came over on the Mayflower. They couldn't stay at home without going to jail for debt. They were selfish, superstitious, and bigoted in the extreme. They came over here to get a chance. The real American was the Indian, and they solved that problem by killing him. The land was occupied, but they took it, and then our Puritan fathers proceeded to pass the most outrageous laws that any country ever knew anything about.

What are our institutions, anyway? He spoke of trial by jury. There is a very strong, active element in the United States now who are trying to destroy trial by jury, and every last one of them is a Nordic and they are rich. I know of some of these Nordics who have taken the best mines and the best buildings, and the land of America, and they want to keep every last one of the rest of us out. I haven't even a house and lot or a piece of

ground to be buried in. My ancestors came here to get a better chance, and I don't believe in closing the doors on the people who would like to come for the same reason now.

We are told that the laboring man is against immigration. I don't know what he is for and against this year, and he doesn't know what he is for and against next year. I have always been for the poor man, but I am not for injustice as I see it either for the rich man or the poor man. Who are these working men? Most of them haven't been here as long as I have. I have been here so long that I don't need to work. Is it justice to allow these late comers to close the doors and allow nobody else to come? If there is anything like justice, and the rules are not strict, I don't want to believe that stuff. And I am not going to, because even if I haven't found any clear idea of justice I have a clear idea of imagination, of common barnyard sympathy, and it tells me that the people of the world must be treated somewhat alike.

We are told that we must not have the Sicilians here because they are people who rob the rich; well, I should worry. Where do you suppose these rich people get all the money they are getting robbed of? The reason for this is that a few of them think they own America and they want to reduce the people to slavery, and they are doing it almighty fast. They are doing it while they talk of elections and fake prosperity. It is only people who have had prosperity who are prosperous. They own all the mines, all the coal, all

the lumber, and everything else that is worth owning. They will soon own all the stores and the little corner storekeeper can go and tramp the streets, and I wouldn't care much, for they have always been fooled by the very people who are now trying to get their property away from them.

They are combining one thing with another, until they will soon have it all. If the people from southern Europe can help us equalize it, I am for them. But I have no feeling of the divine right of property; not a particle. These things are arranged in this world in a particular way partly because it happened so and partly because they who are on top are the strongest.

Are these descendants of the Mayflower such wonderful people? I don't know. They used to hang old women in New England for being witches, and everybody knows that an old woman couldn't be a witch. These Mayflower descendants are the most devoid of human sympathy of any people on the earth today. What do they care about people? They like to work; that is all.

And do you talk about labor unions being interested in this question? Well, I expect you can fool all the working people as you can the farmers. I think I read in your book, Mr. Stoddard, that the machine power of the United States is equal to the labor of three billion people. Well, at least that statement was correct. A lot of others may have been. We have three billion man-power in the nation and the

working man is afraid to have one hundred and fifty-thousand people come into this country in a year. When we learn to take care of the production of these machines, we can take care of the whole world if we want to.

And there is another point. This country isn't a quarter settled, nor a tenth. If it were, and we had the proper social order, would we be poorer than we are now? Three men at work will probably produce more than three times as much as one can now; probably six times as much. Then with proper systems of distribution we shall be so rich that we will die of fat. We can produce now infinitely more than we can consume because the poor people haven't a chance to buy anything. To me, this whole idea is narrow, selfish, unimaginative, and cruel; somehow I can't believe it is a good thing. I think it would be a good thing for the United States to get a little idealism into her.

My friend is entirely wrong when he says that this act was brought about by a bright light which dawned in 1920 and grew until in 1924 it resulted in the most unjust law that America ever passed—and that is going some. Do you suppose it was passed because there was any need on the part of the working man? Did it grow out of any idea of political expediency? No; it came from the mistaken idea of patriotism. This kind of patriotism is a heritage from the war; it was handed down by the army, the navy, and now it is being dispensed throughout Rotary Clubs, the Eagles, and other clubs that are shouting themselves

hoarse about patriotism; they know nothing about it.

This whole movement is narrow, stupid, mean, contemptible. I can, I believe, point out a few broad principles that should affect human beings. We have wandered from the ideas of the past; we used to encourage people to come here. The only habit or custom they have that is different from ours is that they take a drink of wine in the open, whereas we have to hide to drink ours. I have traveled quite extensively abroad and some in America, though I prefer to travel in Europe because of the present drought in America. Of course, Canada will do.

Are our political institutions any different than theirs? Before the war the king of Italy had no power; Italy was governed completely as England is governed by Parliament. Today she has a usurper who is an absolute tyrant, but the Italians don't like him any more than we do, and some day he will forget to put on his steel shirt, and it will be the last of him.

And was there any difference between the Italian government and the British government before the war? They sent their boys and had them killed for democracy, just as we did. And now that the war is over we say, "You can't come and associate with us descendants of the old Puritan fathers who hanged old women as witches."

When was it that that load of Pilgrims came over? That was about 1620, I believe. And they landed on Plymouth Rock; that was a tough day. What is there about those people

that isn't true about everybody else? Why, they couldn't even keep up with their reading. What else was different or is today different about these southern Europeans? Their family life? No. They have five wives at once, and we have them one at a time.

I knew my father and my mother; I knew two of my grandparents; back of that I have only heard; I know nothing further. How far can you go back and still know that pure Nordic blood is running in your veins? Why, we are mixed with all the animal species. Did you ever take out your blood, drop by drop, and say, "Here is a drop of English blood; here is one of Swedish; I am sorry, but here is some Italian blood." And one time, to be a Roman was to be greater than to be a king. Can you sort it out? I don't think so. If I could, I would turn out the Nordic.

There is no such thing as a race. There are people who are isolated in certain communities for a long time and they take on particular characteristics, but spread them out over a long period of time and they vanish. What do we know about the origin of things, anyhow?

Let us look at the history of the world. First the Chaldeans, then the Babylonians, then the Egyptians. Coming down to the modern world, we get a great deal from the Greeks—perhaps the greatest people who ever lived. Of course the Nordics would have been greater if they had lived then. And then the Romans, the Italians whom we speak of so lightly; the great colonizers and empire builders. Then we come down to the English, and now the

Americans. Where are we going? We are probably on our way. Soon we shall land in the dust heap and something else will take our places.

When you try to interfere with the working out of the laws of nature, you get hurt, and for our puny minds to say that this is good and that is bad, and that this is better and that is worse for the short time that we shall be here on earth is just foolishness.

DR. STODDARD'S SECOND SPEECH

(For the Affirmative)

Seldom have I passed a more delightful half hour than when listening to my distinguished opponent's charming fatalisms, shot through with flashes of satire—so many things except those which were to the point. There was a delightfulness in the way in which he did not meet my very categorical questions of numerical restriction. I cannot tell you what he stands for or where he stands on that matter of numerical restriction, and that is the crux of the whole question underlying the immigration law. Back of the question of which races should be admitted and in what proportion there is the question of how many are to be admitted, and that concerns the cold-roast-beef Bostonians. But it also is a matter of very vital concern to every American working man today, and it concerns his children, and his children's children.

Only a week or two ago Secretary Davis

stated that 85 percent of the people of this country are in moderate circumstances, or downright poor. Now we are not discussing the question of faulty distribution of wealth. That would not at all be affected by the question of whether we admit more immigrants or less, or what kind of immigrants we admit. If our gates are thrown wide open, we shall have a deluge from all sides. This country is a supremely desirable place for literally tens of millions, and it may be hundreds of millions, of people in all parts of the world. Ask any middle-aged laboring man in our cities, and he will tell you of the nightmare that labor went through when the "greenies" were brought in by the hundreds—brought in by contract labor—when pipe-line methods of immigration were debasing our whole system of industry and placing it on a hire-and-fire basis. The people who have the most at stake are the laboring people. They would be the ones who would be hit first and hit hardest if the gates were thrown open. It may seem unjust to keep those gates partly closed. I believe that justice, like charity, begins at home. The people who limit their sympathies to the present inhabitants of this world are very narrow-minded, as compared with the man who sees the millions of unborn children who have a right to be born in a prosperous and happy community. Why not project your sympathies out to the coming generations?

Again, it won't do those people in the far distant corners of the earth any good to allow them to overrun America. As long as they

do not raise their standard of living and practice birth control, their millions will be swallowed up completely. Immigration will not cure the ills of these lands, and nothing will be accomplished except to drag down this land to the standard of the backward nations of the earth. A modern instance proving this assertion is the experience of Great Britain in India. The English in India made room for either of two results—either a higher standard of living, or a great increase in the population. Which did the people of India choose? They swamped the British plan with a few extra million babies, and the chance was lost.

Immigration restriction is the order of the day in every country which has high standards and which is exposed to the mass of cheap labor flowing in from backward peoples. Canada, our neighbor to the north, has passed a law almost exactly like ours. Australia, New Zealand, and even South Africa have had to pass laws keeping out the low-paid eastern labor. And this movement is far more widespread than you realize. Do you realize that in the benighted orient the progressive countries have had to take measures to exclude the Koreans and Chinese who were seriously impairing the labor situation in several Japanese prefectures? Again, in the province of Burma during the last few years there has been a rising and very bitter protest against the use of Indian coolies who have been brought in to work in the tea gardens.

Everywhere you see protective measures taken by countries with high living standards

against countries with low living standards, and for that very reason it has become very much more imperative for us to keep up our barriers, otherwise immigrants will come from all parts of the world by the tens of millions. And then what will remain of our prosperity, of our opportunities here? We shall be swamped economically as well as every other way.

Now my opponent took a crack at the 1890 census as opposed to the present quotas for the basis of determining the amount of immigration to be permitted from the various countries. I do not believe he realizes that the 1890 census was put into the law as a stop-gap to give the experts of the Census Bureau three years to work up the National Origins Plan. And it is simply because of certain log-rolling activities by a particular group that this better plan hasn't gone into effect. And right here I want to say that this plan is far and away the most statesmanlike and the most obvious plan that has ever been devised. It takes into account every element in our population. All other immigration laws have been based upon the number of immigrants in the country at a certain particular time. A certain percentage of these is then taken as the annual quota—two percent, three percent, etc. The National Origins Law, however, estimates the amount of blood which each European stock has contributed to our present population. And I assure you that it has been done within a very narrow margin of error. The best statisticians of the country have checked the report

made by the Census Bureau of Washington to within from three to five percent of accuracy, and even if the whole five percent were given to the races of south Europe, it wouldn't make any very great difference.

The idea is to let in 150,000 immigrants each year. To show the complete impartiality of this new plan, there is a slight increase in the quotas of southern and eastern Europe over that at present provided by the 1890 rule, but this is the only plan which takes into consideration the new stocks, and the native stocks. And I should think the native stock would have something to say as to who shall be admitted to the country. Understand, the National Origins plan takes in American citizens and un-naturalized aliens, and gives everybody a fair deal. If that is not fairness, I don't know what is, provided that you admit the justice of a numerical restriction. Of course, if you believe that America belongs to everybody in the world, you regard America as a tract of land, not a nation. In that case, our minds are so far apart they never meet.

My distinguished opponent says that the Fathers believed in having the doors wide open, that this was to be a haven for the oppressed of all nations. The Fathers, particularly George Washington and Patrick Henry, were solid for controlled immigration. The man who expressed himself most forcefully was that great arch-Democrat, Thomas Jefferson. All these men were against a wholesale immigration from foreign sources.

And we are told that there is no difference among foreign races, particularly Italy; that she has the same constitution as England, etc. Ha! Ha! I have been in a country where

they had the most model Constitution you ever saw; they even had model prisons; and yet if you read their public documents, you will find that this wonderful Constitution of Italy has degenerated into one of the most corrupt systems of government that Europe has ever seen. What has happened in the last few years is that a necessity has arisen for a strong man, a dictator, to solve the question.

We hear that this country is only one-tenth settled, that there is plenty of room for everybody. As a matter of fact, those scientists who have investigated the problem have said that this country is already pretty well settled, and the general estimate is that there is room for 190,000,000 or 200 000,000 people in the United States, provided we keep our high standard of living. If we lower that, we can support half a billion, or a billion here. But who of us would want to see our children or our grandchildren living that way? I don't believe anybody in this audience would want to see such an America.

And now I want to come back to the last statement of my first argument. And that is: Is it not for the best interests of the southern and eastern elements already domiciled here to get in line back of some constructive proviso like the National Origins Plan, which will be revised with every census? If our Congress does away with this plan, there will be a tremendous outburst of bitter feeling engendered among the thinking people of America, and unless this thing is put upon a scientific basis such as the National Origins Plan, there will be a prohibition of all immigration. If these people come to believe that this question is to be thrashed over continually, they will come

down hard, and not a single person will be permitted to come into this country. If that is what the people of this land want, all right; that is what will happen. Now, do we want such drastic measures, or do we want such a fair, just, and statesmanlike plan as the National Origins Plan to stabilize this business and put it on a permanent basis? So long as this 1890 business stands, there will be continual attempts to overthrow it. That is the only way out for us; put this business on a firmly stabilized and permanent basis; give everybody a chance who is already here in this country and then let the differentiation of the birth rate take care of the future.

MR. DARROW'S SECOND SPEECH

(For the Negative)

I may say that my friend seems to meet this issue squarely, but it seems that there is no discrimination. Is the present law which discriminates against the southeastern European a good policy? If there is no question, then what is this all about?

Just because somebody comes here and raises more food, should that make me poorer? No; it ought to make me richer. There is no excuse for a poor man in America. And yet Secretary Davis estimates that 85 per cent of the people in America are poor. Well, they didn't all vote for Al Smith; some of them voted for the high-priest of efficiency—because of prosperity. These folks are not poor because America is over-populated. If our population were reduced to 10,000,000, 85 per cent of them would be poor. If it were increased to 500,000,000, still 85 per cent of them would be poor.

I do not know why my friend is interested in the unborn millions who have a right to be born. These millions of unborn Americans consist of the trillions of cells in the future women of the race down the course of perhaps a million years, and the septillions of male cells that might possibly happen to fertilize those particular cells if certain accidents should turn out that way. I never asked to be born; that isn't the way we get here. Now you are here; what are you going to do about it? We all have some intelligence. We have a little common idealism to let other people live, and above all we can do to settle a question rightly is to settle it upon what little light we have.

We drove the Indian out because there wasn't room here for both races, and the Indian was already becoming crowded. What right had we to say to the people of the rest of the world that they can't come. Why can't they come? Because away down the course of time, perhaps a million years hence, the unborn babies are struggling to get born in America.

Now I have one kind of imagination; my friend has another. I can't for the life of me understand anybody who is worrying about what is going to happen to him in five hundred thousand years. There won't be any America to me in fifteen years; perhaps a little less. I have looked up the obituary tables. Why should I worry about what is going to happen in America a thousand years from now? I don't. I have children, but they must take their chances with all the other children of the world. They need expect no pile of money to be left by me. I can help them best by trying to make the world decent so that every child who lives may have a chance.

There is no excuse for poverty, especially in America, and there is no use for it any-

where else. Is England poor? Why? Because a few people own all of it. Need France or Germany be poor, barring a war they have just been through? Why have they been poor? Just for the same reason that a few people in the world take it all. Are the people of China poor? Yes. The older a country is and the more thoroughly organized it is, the poorer the people are.

If an old Italian comes to America and gets three dollars a day, does that make you poorer? It is not production that causes poverty; it is lack of distribution. If we ever get to the point where the captains of industry turn their attention to the distribution of things instead of production, this question will be solved.

Why need I be afraid of a few Europeans who come here and work? How are these people who own mills going to get their money if somebody doesn't come here and work? I was born in the rolling mill district of Pittsburgh. I used to go into the shops and see men stripped to the waist and working in the glaring heat passing steel rails back and forth through rollers. About six weeks ago I was back there, and what did I see? Every man was gone; a piece of steel about six inches square was put on an iron machine; it passed through roller after roller until it came out at the other end as a rail for a railroad, and no human hand touched it except the hand that turned the switch.

The machine affects labor, and instead of being used for the worker, they are used by capital to supplant labor. And we are worrying about the working men from the south of Europe! Capital is reforging America on the breast of the workingman. Under the guise of patriotism, they are enlisting all the morons to

keep things as they are. We want no radicals from abroad!

I have done everything about labor except work. I have tried many of their cases, and I sympathize with them on account of their conditions of labor. Have you ever a time when workingmen seeking higher wages or better conditions were not met by the combined wealth of the rich, or by a machine? The rich never did care, and they never will care; they are interested in keeping America for the Americans, and to keep out Bolshevist ideas. They don't even know what these words mean. They say the same old fool things over again, without a single thought as to what the words mean. They are all organized for a common purpose—to keep things as they are.

I am not in favor of keeping things as they are; I would like to make them better, but I do not like to make them better by forgetting the poor of other lands, by injustice, by oppression, by wrong. I don't think justice can ever grow on injustice; I don't believe that kindness and humanity can ever come from selfishness. I do not believe that because we get to a place first where there is plenty of room, that we should say to others like ourselves, "You can't come."

Are these men afraid of Russian workingmen or Russian ideas? Are they afraid of Russian laborers or Russian Jews? Why is it, if American machinery is equal to three billion men, that we can't live in comfort and plenty? There is just one reason; that's all—the horrible injustice of an unfair division of wealth. We have forgotten all about it; we have lost all sense of proportion; we have lost all sympathy with our fellow men.

Isn't that a fine picture here in America? With our great natural resources we can pro-

duce enough to feed the whole world. Here in America, and we must keep everyone else out because of the unborn millions. Germany, France, and England are doing the same thing. What is it? Is it anything less than the back-sweep of a great war that carried with it all the human feeling that man has acquired. All over the world we find that the war for democracy made everybody cruel and hard. We told everybody to fight for democracy, and now we are fighting for the spoils.

I find again that nothing will pay in the long run unless it meets our feeling of kindness, of humanity, of universal sympathy, of the brotherhood of man which Christians talk about on Sunday but whose gates they close up on Monday.

Why, if Jesus Christ, as the story has been told, should land in Wilmington tomorrow, he would be deported. He would be lucky if he got off with that.

I tell you, this world has grown soggy and cruel since the Great War. I was a near-patriot myself. I believed in the war, and fought for it, with oratory, if this is oratory, but I am beginning to realize that I was not quite logical in my arguments. I see the direct result that comes to every country on the earth—tyranny, oppression, filled jails, prohibition, and every other plague that infested Egypt.

Now let us see if we can't settle this question. Are you going to have less because somebody else comes here and works? If you do, something is wrong with distribution, isn't it? I remember when that great statesman, the inspired president who was given to the United States as a direct act of the Almighty, Calvin Coolidge, had his attention called to the troubles the southern farmers were having

about the price of cotton. He said, "Well, we will try to do something for you, but you mustn't raise so much again." The same is true of the farmers in the West. But when the manufacturers are stumped on account of overproduction they don't have any trouble. They own the mills, and they can shut them down until the demand catches up. The trouble with our world is that we are suffering from too much.

There isn't any need for poverty. There is room on the earth for all the people who are here. Although population may overtake the food supply, it hasn't done so yet. And we may be able to make food out of the primary elements more cheaply than we can raise it. We may be able to make everything we need, and much more cheaply than at present. If the work of three billion people can be done by the machines invented in the last generation, what difference can be made in our economic organization by having one Italian or one Russian Jew come over here?

There are such people as descendants of Nordics; they are hounds for the Nordics. And now we have a law, unjust in every way you look at it, dated back to 1890 because at that time the Southern European hadn't come in such great numbers.

Why is an Englishman so much better than an Italian? The Italians have produced wealth on the old abandoned New England farms. I suppose they will own New England some day; and I know they will be more tolerant than the Puritans ever were. Why should we cut out anybody? Isn't one as good as another?

I suppose I am a Nordic. I am not bragging about it; I am apologizing for it. Of course, I am not a Puritan in much. I believe in

taking a drink; I believe in letting everybody else take a drink. But I am broadminded about it; I don't believe in forcing a Puritan to take a drink if he doesn't want it. And I am of Puritan stock, but from so far back that I can't trace it.

Men can't be separated on kinds of blood any longer. As you know, all kinds of blood circulate in all human beings who live. We go back to Europe; they go back to Asia; for a million years men have been tramping up and down over the face of America. I can't know all my ancestors; I can't know all the kinds of blood that are mixed in me. Who am I to say that my kind alone shall come to America and all the rest must stay away? I believe this earth is big enough for the human race. When it gets so crowded that they can't all live, if I am here I will be willing to cast lots to decide who shall die and who shall stay, and give everybody an even break.

DR. STODDARD'S FINAL SPEECH

(For the Affirmative)

Again we have all of us sat stimulated and entertained by Mr. Darrow's oratory, for he is an orator. I have never heard a more effective or a more witty speaker. And he has again ranged far afield. All the time, I was reminded of that line of Gilbert and Sullivan,

The flowers that bloom in the spring, tra-la-la,
Have nothing to do with the case.

It isn't in a world of "if" that we are living; it is now. We are living in a world where the majority of the people are, like Lazarus, taking the crumbs from Dives' table. And what would

happen to the majority of the people, the wage earners, in this country, native and foreign-born, citizens and aliens? Let us deal with the world as it is, and with the country as it is. Now the great majority of that immigrant influx would be from the nations of southern and eastern Europe, where the standards of living are lowest. That is why the American Federation of Labor and every laboring man is against unrestricted immigration.

My opponent speaks as though this policy were a conspiracy of the rich to close the doors. For a generation before 1924 the biggest and most powerful lobby of all was composed of the largest employers of labor—the steel men, the iron men, the railroad men, and the woolen and textile mills wanted precisely that cheap labor, and they were the ones who fought most bitterly against the immigration law; the ones who wanted this law were the laboring men. There was money on one side favoring immigration, and labor on the other opposing it. That was the line-up; take your choice.

We have heard a great deal about world vision, etc., but there is still something to be said for nations and something to be said for looking at one's own hearth and home and one's own kith and kin. We shall all be dead in a few years; suppose we can go to the statistical tables and find out how long we have yet to live; that may have an interest for my friend, but it doesn't for me. My ancestors have handed down the race heritage to me, and I am trying to hand it on to my children, and I am hoping that they will prove true to their trust and pass it on to their children.

As Kipling has said,

Who lives if England dies?
Who dies if England lives?

The future of one's national culture and fatherland do mean something after all; at least, in my eyes, and I think in the eyes of most of you here tonight when you think it over.

Question: Wherein in any case in this country's past history has increase in immigration been accompanied by a lowering of wages?

Dr. Stoddard's Answer: In the coal fields of Pennsylvania. In the early '80's the coal fields of Pennsylvania were inhabited by a population, a working population of Cornish, Welsh, English, German and Irish miners living, for the most part, in decent villages and under tidy conditions. Then there came in the influx of Slavs, Italians and Hungarian immigrants. There was certainly a very marked lowering of wages and of working standards. There was a series of strikes by the north European miners. Carloads of these so-called "greenies" were shipped in and they were "sent down the road." The same thing happened in the great Homestead Strike. Throughout that entire district there followed a very much lower living standard, and industry was placed on a hire-and-fire basis, the casual-labor basis. I do not know how anybody can look back on that period without realizing the fatal tendencies that were at work. These tendencies were stopped first by the war, and then by the immigration acts of 1921 and 1924.

Question: Who shipped in the Latin immigrants in 1890?

Dr. Stoddard's Answer: Both the employers and the employees. Some came of their own accord; others were contract labor.

Question: According to your statement that machinery is largely supplanting labor, how will unrestricted immigration help labor?

Mr. Darrow's Answer: It won't improve labor the least little bit. The machine is the whole thing now. It will never be any better until people learn how to control the machines.

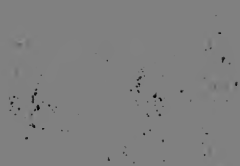
Question: Mr. Darrow, if you believe that over-production is the cause of our present economic ills, how can you justify the continuation of our process of production?

Mr. Darrow's Answer: The rich fellows own the government, and industry. If they control the rules of the game, of course they may win.

Question: Mr. Darrow, out of your wide experience with criminals and immigrants, with Nordics and southern Europeans, who represents the greatest group of criminals in this country?

Mr. Darrow's Answer: The corporation lawyer.





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